

## Message Text

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UNCLAS STATE 151289 TOSEC 070033

FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT SPECIAL ARTICLE TO THE NEW YORK TIMES BY GRAHAM HOVEY, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, HEADED "ARCHITECTS OF U.S. AFRICAN POLICY PRIVATELY WORRIED BY CARTER'S ATTACKS ON MOSCOW."

2. WASHINGTON, JUNE 13--THE MEN WHO HAVE BUILT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY FOR AFRICA INSIST PUBLICLY THAT IT IS STILL INTACT, BUT IN PRIVATE THEY WORRY THAT THEIR FRAGILE EDIFICE WILL BE BLOWN DOWN PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL AGITATION TO HALT SOVIET AND CUBAN PENETRATION OF THE CONTINENT.

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3. "I THINK THE POLICY IS STILL ON TRACK, BUT IS TEMPORARILY OBSCURED BY CLOUDS OF PURPLE RHETORIC," A HIGH-RANKING STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL SAID LAST WEEK. HE LEFT NO DOUBT THAT HE MEANT THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI.

4. MR. CARTER, IN ALL HIS RECENT SPEECHES AND PRESS CONFERENCES HAS INDICATED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S OVERRIDING CONCERN ABOUT AFRICA NOW IS SOVIET AND CUBAN

INTERVENTION. HE HAS ACCUSED BOTH MOSCOW AND HAVANA OF COMPLICITY IN THE INVASION OF ZAIRE BY EXILES BASED IN ANGOLA, A CHARGE BOTH HAVE VIGOROUSLY DENIED.

5. STATE DEPARTMENT SPECIALISTS HOPE THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN COMPETITION AND WHAT THEY REGARD AS AN ADMINISTRATION OBSESSION WITH CUBA CAN BE KEPT FROM DOMINATING AFRICAN POLICY.

6. "IT'S NOT THAT STATE DOESN'T THINK THE CUBANS ARE A PROBLEM," A POLICYMAKER SAID RECENTLY. "BUT IT COMES DOWN, FINALLY, TO THIS QUESTION CAN ANYTHING BE ACCOMPLISHED BY A VERY HARD LINE--A RHETORICAL HARD LINE--FOLLOWED BY NO ACTION?"

7. THE ADMINISTRATION'S INTERNAL DEBATE ON AFRICAN POLICY HAS OFTEN BEEN PERSONALIZED AS ONE BETWEEN MR. BRZEZINSKI, WHOSE PROFESSIONAL CAREER HAS CONCENTRATED ON THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, AND ANDREW YOUNG, THE OUTSPOKEN CHIEF DELEGATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WHO MINIMIZES EAST-WEST RIVALRY AND THE COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT IN DEALING WITH AFRICA.

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8. EVERYONE INVOLVED WITH THE POLICY DISMISSES THIS EXPLANATION AS OVERSIMPLIFIED AND OFTEN INACCURATE. FOR EXAMPLE, MR. YOUNG AGREED WITH MR. BRZEZINSKI THAT THE USE OF UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TRANSPORT PLANES TO FERRY EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN TROOPS TO COUNTER THE INVASION OF ZAIRE'S SHABA PROVINCE WAS NECESSARY AND DESIRABLE.

9. MR. YOUNG IS ONLY ONE MEMBER OF AN UNUSUAL TEAM THAT HAS FORGED AFRICAN POLICY UNDER A SYMPATHETIC SECRETARY OF STATE, CYRUS R. VANCE, WITH THE ACTIVE SUPPORT, MOST OF THE TIME, OF PRESIDENT CARTER.

10. THE TEAM IS HEADED BY RICHARD M. MOOSE, JR., ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS. IT INCLUDES W. ANTHONY LAKE, CHIEF OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S POLICY PLANNING STAFF, AND CHARLES W. MAYNES, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, ALONG WITH MR. YOUNG.

11. THE FOUR ARE IN THE SAME AGE GROUP--39 TO 46--AND THEY SHARE A COMMON EXPERIENCE OF DISILLUSIONMENT WITH AND THEN OPPOSITION TO THE VIETNAM WAR. ALL

REMAIN HIGHLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT UNITED STATES MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, DIRECT OR INDIRECT, IN AREAS WHERE THEY FEEL THE NATIONAL INTEREST IS NOT OBVIOUSLY AT STAKE.

12. IT IS AN INGREDIENT THAT HEAVILY AFFECTS THEIR OUTLOOK ON AFRICA AND THAT OFTEN BRINGS THEM INTO DISAGREEMENT ON STRATEGY WITH WHAT THEY CALL MR. BRZEZINSKI'S "EAST-WEST OPTIC."

13. ALL BUT MR. YOUNG WERE ONCE FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS WHO DEPARTED IN VARYING DEGREES OF DISAGREEMENT WITH OFFICIAL POLICY. AS CAREER OFFICERS, MR. MOOSE  
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AND MR. LAKE SERVED TOGETHER ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL STAFF. BOTH RESIGNED IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THE POLICIES OF HENRY A. KISSINGER, PRESIDENT NIXON'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, MR. LAKE HAVING QUIT ABRUPTLY TO PROTEST THE AMERICAN INVASION OF CAMBODIA IN 1970.

14. THE POLICY THAT THE TEAM HAS PUSHED WITH REMARKABLE UNANIMITY IS ONE OF VIEWING AFRICAN PROBLEMS IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT, FREE OF COLD WAR OR EAST-WEST STRATEGY CONSIDERATIONS. IT WOULD RULE OUT MILITARY INTERVENTION BUT GIVE SELECTIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE, ALONG WITH GREATLY EXPANDED ECONOMIC AID.

15. IT WOULD SEEK FRIENDSHIP EVEN WITH NATIONS SUCH AS ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE THAT PROFESS MARXIST IDEOLOGY AND MAINTAIN CLOSE TIES TO MOSCOW AND HAVANA.

16. SECRETARY VANCE PROVIDED THE BASIC TEXT FOR THE POLICY IN A ST. LOUIS SPEECH LAST JULY, WHEN HE WARNED AGAINST TREATING AFRICA "AS A TESTING GROUND OF EAST-WEST COMPETITION," AND ADDED: "THE MOST EFFECTIVE POLICIES TOWARD AFRICA ARE AFFIRMATIVE POLICIES. A NEGATIVE, REACTIVE AMERICAN POLICY THAT SEEKS ONLY TO OPPOSE SOVIET OR CUBAN INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE BOTH DANGEROUS AND FUTILE."

17. AS ITS HIGHEST PRIORITY, THE POLICY SEEKS TO HEAD OFF A CATASTROPHIC BLACK-WHITE WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BY DIPLOMATIC ACTION TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL EVOLUTION TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, AND FINALLY, IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF.

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18. THE POLICY HAS LED TO TWO INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE FIRST IS THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PLAN FOR BRINGING LEGAL INDEPENDENCE TO RHODESIA AND PROVIDING

FOR A TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE, WITH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD INCLUDE BOTH WHITE LEADERS AND ALL OF THE COUNTRY'S BLACK NATIONALIST FACTIONS. THE SECOND IS THE FIVE-NATION PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, ALSO KNOWN AS NAMIBIA, WHICH SOUTH AFRICA HAS CONTROLLED SINCE 1920 UNDER A LEAGUE OF NATIONS MANDATE THAT HAS SINCE BEEN REVOKED BY THE UNITED NATIONS.

19. WHEN OFFICIALS INSIST THAT THE AFRICAN POLICY IS INTACT, DESPITE WHITE HOUSE ALARMS ABOUT THE SOVIET AND CUBAN ROLES IN ETHIOPIA, ANGOLA AND ZAIRE, THEY MEAN ABOVE ALL THAT THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY IS STILL IN PLACE AND SUPPORTED BY ALL ELEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

20. "AFRICAN POLICY IS NOT JUST THE QUESTION OF CUBANS IN AFRICA," SAID A STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL. "ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE MAJOR FOCUS OF WHAT WE'VE BEEN DOING, THERE HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY NO ADMINISTRATION CONFLICTS." HE WENT ON:

21. "THE PRESIDENT, BRZEZINSKI, LAKE, EXACTLY THE SAME WAY, INTERPRET UNITED STATES INTERESTS IN THE SAME WAY. AND THAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF AFRICAN POLICY BECAUSE IT IMPACTS ON OUR RELATIONS WITH ALL THE REST OF AFRICA."

22. YET, SOME OFFICIALS FEAR THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN, POLICY COULD BE WRECKED IF WHITE HOUSE CONCERN ABOUT THE SOVIET AND CUBAN ADVENTURES PROVOKED GREATER EMPHASIS ON EAST-WEST RIVALRY AND INCREASED UNITED UNCLASSIFIED

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STATES INVOLVEMENT IN SUCH ACTIVITIES AS THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN MILITARY OPERATIONS IN ZAIRE.

23. THESE OFFICIALS WERE DISMAYED LAST WEEK WHEN PRESIDENT JULIUS K. NYERERE OF TANZANIA SUMMONED THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS TO DENOUNCE WESTERN INVOLVEMENT IN ZAIRE AND TO CRITICIZE PRESIDENT CARTER FOR LISTENING TO "HYSTERICAL VOICES" AND PUSHING AFRICA INTO THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT.

24. MR. NYERERE WAS THE FIRST AFRICAN LEADER INVITED FOR A STATE VISIT BY PRESIDENT CARTER. HE HAS BEEN CULTIVATED ASSIDUOUSLY BY MR. CARTER AND MR. YOUNG

AS THE MOST INFLUENTIAL OF THE FIVE SO-CALLED "FRONT-LINE" PRESIDENTS, THE LEADERS OF BLACK-RULED AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAT SUPPORT BLACK NATIONALIST GUERRILLAS IN RHODESIA. HIS SUPPORT IS BELIEVED

TO BE ESSENTIAL IF THE AMERICAN INITIATIVES IN  
RHODESIA AND SOUTH-WEST AFRICA ARE TO SUCCEED.

26. ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SAID MR. CARTER HAD  
SENT A LETTER TO MR. NYERERE LAST WEEK, EXPLAINING THE  
STRICTLY LIMITED NATURE OF THE AMERICAN AIRLIFT IN  
ZAIRE. BUT THE LETTER FAILED TO REACH DAR ES SALAAM  
BEFORE MR. NYERERE'S PUBLIC STATEMENT AND HIS  
DEPARTURE FOR A MEETING OF THE "FRONT-LINE" PRESI-  
DENTS IN ANGOLA. -

27. IN A TELEPHONE INTERVIEW, MR. YOUNG SAID HE  
BELIEVED MR. NYERERE WAS MOSTLY CONCERNED WITH FRANCE'S  
INTERVENTION IN ZAIRE. "HE'S NOT RESPONDING TO OUR  
LIMITED, RESTRAINED POLICY BUT TO EMOTIONAL RHETORIC  
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AND THE TREATMENT OF THE ZAIRE ACTION BY THE NEWS  
MEDIA," HE SAID.

28. MR. YOUNG AND HIS COLLEAGUES FEARED, HOWEVER,  
THAT THE MEETING IN ANGOLA MIGHT FOCUS ALMOST  
ENTIRELY ON EVENTS IN ZAIRE. THEY WERE RELIEVED  
WHEN THE FIVE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS WERE ABLE TO  
PERSUADE THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION,  
THE MAIN INSURGENT GROUP IN THE TERRITORY, TO RESUME  
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, CANADA,  
FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY ON THEIR INDEPENDENCE PLAN.

29. FOR A SOLUTION IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, THE COOP-  
ERATION OF PRESIDENT AGOSTINHO NETO OF ANGOLA IS ALSO  
CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL, SINCE THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICAN  
PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION IS WAGING ITS GUERRILLA STRUGGLES  
FROM ANGOLA BASES.

30. THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S AFRICAN TEAM WOULD LIKE  
TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MR. NETO'S  
GOVERNMENT, WHICH INSISTS THAT IT WILL REMAIN NONA-  
LIGNED DESPITE ITS MARXIST IDEOLOGY AND THE LARGE-  
SCALE CUBAN AND SOVIET PRESENCE IN ANGOLA.

31. BUT STRONG OPPOSITION FROM CONGRESS AND ELSE-  
WHERE MAKE FORMAL RECOGNITION OF MR. NETO IMPOSSIBLE  
FOR THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AT PRESENT, PARTICULARLY

AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S CHARGE OF ANGOLAN COMPLICITY  
IN THE INVASION OF ZAIRE'S SHABA PROVINCE BY KATANGAN  
EXILES BASED IN ANGOLA.

32. MR. NETO WAS ALSO ANGERED BY THE ADMINISTRATION'S  
TALK ABOUT REPEALING THE CLARK AMENDMENT, BY WHICH  
CONGRESS IN 1976 CUT OFF COVERT MILITARY AID TO TWO

PRO-WESTERN ANGOLAN FACTIONS THAT WERE FIGHTING MR.  
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NETO'S REGIME.

33. MR. MOOSE, THEN A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE SENATE  
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE STAFF, WORKED CLOSELY  
WITH SENATOR DICK CLARK, DEMOCRAT OF IOWA, IN OBTAIN-  
ING SENATE PASSAGE OF THE AMENDMENT AND IS KNOWN TO  
OPPOSE ITS REPEAL VIGOROUSLY.

34. MR. CARTER NOW SAYS HE WILL NOT SEEK REPEAL OF  
THE CLARK AMENDMENT, BUT EVEN THE SUGGESTION BY  
ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS THAT IT CONSTITUTED A  
BURDENSOME RESTRICTION ON THE PRESIDENT'S CAPACITY  
TO ACT WAS INTERPRETED BY AFRICANS AS PRESAGING RE-  
NEWED AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. CHRISTOPHER

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